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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

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to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body." Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial charity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked men, as a hunter who has killed one always carries two bands of salmon across his face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear owner to use owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter secures the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. The pelt is four times, as if prancing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relatives to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, stretch, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Feeding mammals goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its discontent by jumping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

There have another example: they do not like to be eaten by man. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

There are traditions in Bella Coola as to every other community, and several of the same are repeated elsewhere in the community of animals.

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973 ago the tide came further up the river than at present and did
 923 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent
 old man who said that the change had taken place during his
 own life time.

972 One of Raven's most important observations on *Ayemsh*'s
 933 innovations was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the spouses of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man sitting his hand across a woman's brow. Raven found that children would not walk from this position and accordingly showed the spouses of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, calling her that if the practice were carried out correctly and vigorously a child would be born. And now mankind knew the woman gave birth as we know. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have men; that consequently held intercourse frequently and began every children with their descendants that the Bella Coola value.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

972 One side of their system implicitly follows any story handed
 103 down from the distant past, but few tales are sufficiently entertaining
 145 actually to make it. The more sophisticated readily dis-
 124 believe, or pretend to do so. Charles also agrees with regard to
 Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola
 were that *Ayemsh* borrowed only one language for the whole
 world, but Raven thought that this would lead to conflict and
 used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special
 speech.

103 Many innovations and beliefs are attributed to Raven with-
 124 out any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
 graphical names are those borrowed by him or places created
 in his words. It was Raven who taught men how to hunt
 birds so long time to work that out; it was Raven who first

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used by the age-long power of his ancestors. Finally, he old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his name is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions.

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It will be seen from the foregoing that individualism among the Bull-Goats does not depend on territory only, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's power as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a free meal by the giving of possession. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly when are the powers of a chief, such depend upon his power and influence. For a Bull-Goat chief has no association or judicial authority; when influence is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is somewhat vague or falling.

The meeting of the Union was too crowded the Public Centre
to more conveniently large room of meeting by occupying and
filling. This is now too crowded nearly everywhere to give or
have one perfectly, a very different view of affairs than that
which prevailed in the last century when it required more of
all for a man to secure the necessary food and drink. Con-
sequently, in every corner there were an ever after had given
partially, as that a man's position was indicated by the
position he had given or smaller amounts. Sometimes,
however, a man preferred to increase his food by giving him
of a different source, such as forest game, and the position
thus disclosed might denote him in the eyes of the com-
munity as a position above that of a man who had given a
partially. This however was unusual.

When a female produces a nest it is accepted a position of isolation, and is termed a *solitary bird*. *Monks* is an interesting family bird, with the distinction of "parentage" as alluded to the account of birds which have passed through its hands. *Parrots* and *algae-eating parrots* pass as the most, especially

present, and the fact of the matter is they carried farther
 effort than would be possible if only Bull
 Coala were in atten-
 dance. Every individual daily includes
 some such himself communally allied
 others who have had
 a similar experience, and they have a
 piping which may be
 termed the *second* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is
 obvious from the presence of names of this type in the same
 ancestral myths. Since the law, every chief, that is a person
 with daily validated ancestral name, is not a *second*,
 unless he has validated a *second* name for himself and undergone
 the period of initiation. Consequently, there may be a duly
 authorized member of the *second* society, lacking a seat and
 the other marks of chiefdom. The relationship is, however,
 so close that the Bulla Coala think of a *second* society as a
 society of chiefs. *Second* dances take place at porches and
 houses, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance.
 Difficulties arise on the death of a chief who has failed to use
 some of his goods for the acquisition of *second* name. Such a
 case took place on the death of an important Bulla Coala in
 the summer of 1925. Theoretically, he is ignorant of *second*
 rites, but after much discussion there was used on account of
 his ignorance as a *second* chief, on account of the manner in
 which a man's personal experience or rules ceremonial
 become.

The Bulla Coala believe that only one of their *second*
 name-possessors came to this earth at the beginning of time
 with their first experience, and that *second* names have been ac-
 quired here by experimental experience. There were especially
 common among their forefathers as they lived over this earth
 making place to earth in the beginning of time. No *second*
 name can be assumed casually; one must have had a
 specific origin. There are few *second* origin myths, though
 diametrically there should be one to explain for every name.
 The explanation appears to be in the well-known fact that many
second possessions have been acquired comparatively recently

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example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Aitai* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Bowd*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

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As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as custom and all other features of ancestral myths.

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More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
 437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
 * 556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen
 [171] commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
 [189] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
 Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers
 unless for use as potlaches. As every ambitious chief hopes
 to give potlaches, he can always claim that the acquisition of
 a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly
 desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal
 than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably
 common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless
 he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
 * 556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
 thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative.
 In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for
 this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly
 calls together the inhabitants of his own village to whom which
 he distributes by the distribution of presents, and at which he
 also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use
 his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
 [559] which are given only to men of standing in the community,
 must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to
 decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind
 consists of a copper, a return of ten per cent is expected on the
 transaction. Borrowal of a copper in such circumstances is not
 spoken of as an investment present, *tsilakwatsan*, but as
tsawap, which has the definite significance of something that
 must be returned with ten per cent interest. If the value of
 the copper was \$25 before this loan, it is now \$27, since
 the new owner must repay this amount to the chief potlatching
 to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in
 any way he desires; if he repays a previous individual, he
 exceeds \$25 by giving it; whereas if he borrows it as *tsawap*,
 announcement is made that its value is \$25, and he expects to

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH 28

quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name indicated in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Silawamak-simda a*, another is *So'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been transgenerational. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to open the berries.

"Can easily to pick and distinguish for whatever species is ripe! experience," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is unusual for every variety. As far as could be learned, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; chastities seems to have been as universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formally they may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative limited down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other titles of this sort, magical powers are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors conferred as such by the distribution of presents at the time of marriage or those of professional career. At the present time, it is

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ORIGIN MYTHS

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provided with means of subsistence, a house, and certain super-
natural powers. The right to the names of these people, as
well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has
been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Balla
Coals, like their modern descendants, had several designations,
each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth
there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents
which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different
phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting grounds, prefe-
rence, names of dogs, or *honor prerogatives*.⁷ Any myth which
gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative,
is termed a *maiora*. Each of these is, or was in the old
days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full
detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose
names are embodied in it. Even at present the full details
of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a
frightful, quarrelsome disposition, unwilling to preserve the dignity
of his ancestral name, the details are concealed from him. Even
at the present time there is much reticence in any unau-
thorized use of a *maiora*, and in the old days this would
inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Bliss (p. 101) states that the name *maiora* and *maiora*
are synonymous. The writer Ballaranda states that this is an error.
It was discussed repeatedly with various Balla Coals, all of
whom agreed that a *maiora* is a name story which can be told
by women, whereas a *maiora* is a myth possessed by the
individual or individuals whose prerogatives are derived from
it. To the Balla Coals the two are strictly different.

Bliss also has, there is no doubt that much of the past
change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager
to give a gift, but lacking the spiritual authorization,
must temporarily have used a *maiora*, claiming the name as his
own, but the privilege of one who can give protection is so great
that to thus be taken would probably be accepted. The use

⁷The details of these will be another time.

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

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to a great extent regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of visiting their wives to other men. This is not considered undecent, but the Baller Code do not strongly condemn touches of the moral code, which are regarded as the effect of the husband alone. There is said to be a Baller Code custom by which a wife when an engaged person one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the practice which the latter gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often have together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Baller Code. 37
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engagement

It has been for long assumed that the Baller Code was contingent, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominion. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have them, but it was not common. Perhaps the importance of it as often mentioned, but time, not, or almost, the exact number is not known. It was ending to with a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and waiting for his parents-in-law was not expected. The custom for this was obvious to the Baller Code. Since then a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such as one could not be expected to demand himself by waiting for several days. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, or willingly entered the customary period of marriage. One assumed the duration of having several wives. As far as could be known, the number of the wives was always to have been about 95
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practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always there to see, and it is to be assumed that polygamy was made possible only through the surplus of women that could. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had 2

595 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to
556 more, while the case of *Patsi* was considered to be unique and
highly desirable.

595 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is
571 said that disputes were frequent. *Patsi* endeavoured to pre-
vent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bed-
room and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One
informant had two wives when a young man, and he found
that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping
in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that
plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable
friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a
second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in
this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the
same time.

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595 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of
● 183 a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands
626 between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was con-
sidered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the
offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to
concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that
the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unre-
spectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in
the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his
only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simul-
taneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was then considered
most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a
daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods
necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The
husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the
ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different
ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The
joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in
the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands
forming part of his household. She would then move to the
house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *karier* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chosen to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer pur-
sues himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, even concealing himself that it was assumed by the opposition.

Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice them. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the pre-
siding, those who are not *karier* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is with us the remainder of his country with, therefore, support him during his visit.⁶ A household is sent out

⁶Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *karier*, but evidently usually must only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are to the majority of men almost enemies of the nature.

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WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *hachet* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts entirely in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be so represented by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *hachet* ceremonials.

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *hachetness*, when all the *hachet* are present, the bird is sent to move across the back wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, is really hiding it beneath his clothing. The women dance and the *hachet* announce to the uninitiated in the neighboring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and waves the bird to the lead above by throwing his hands upwards while the *hachet* call out *hoi*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *acoolingap*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

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